

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 199192

NODIS

FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOL RPT DAR ES SALAAM 3405 SENT ACTION SECSTATE DTD 22 AUG 77

QUOTE: S E C R E T DAR ES SALAAM 3405

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PDEV, RH, US, UK

SUBJECT: TREATMENT OF RHODESIAN MILITARY FORCES QUESTION AT  
FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS MEETING

1. SUMMARY: CHANCES ARE THAT MILITARY FORCES QUESTION WILL  
BE IMPORTANT AT FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS MEETING. SHOULD WE  
DO ANYTHING MORE TO GET COMPLETE MEETING OF MINDS WITH  
BRITISH? IF THEY ARE IN FACT ABOARD, IS THERE ANYTHING MORE  
THAT CAN BE DONE WITH NYERERE AND THE OTHER FRONT LINE  
PRESIDENTS TO REDUCE CHANCES THEY WILL TRY TO OPEN HOLE ON  
THIS ISSUE AT MEETING? END SUMMARY.

2. IT STRIKES ME THAT ONE OF TRICKIEST PROBLEMS AMBASSADOR  
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YOUNG AND FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN WILL FACE AT FRONT LINE  
PRESIDENTS MEETING COULD BE QUESTION OF TRANSITION MILITARY  
FORCES ARRANGEMENT. WE MAY BE MAKING MORE OF WORDS ON  
THIS ISSUE THAN AFRICANS WILL, BUT I AM NOT SURE OF THIS.  
AND, DESPITE MAGNIFICENT WORK DONE IN LONDON, I AM STILL  
NOT SURE FROM HERE THAT THERE IS COMPLETE MEETING OF MINDS  
BETWEEN US AND BRITISH. BRITISH WHITE PAPER (STATE 194173),

EVEN WITH AMENDMENT (LONDON 13940), IS NOT VERY DEFINITE ON SUBJECT. US-UK PAPER ON TRANSITION MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS (LONDON 13851) STILL LEAVES CERTAIN AREAS AMBIGUOUS, E.G. PARA 7: ARE ALL SMITH ARMY ELEMENTS OTHER THAN SELOUS SCOUTS, GREY SCOUTS, AND SAS TO BE ASSUMED "ACCEPTABLE"? IS ANYONE OTHER THAN BRITISH RESIDENT COMMISSIONER TO HAVE SAY IN DECIDING WHICH OTHER ELEMENTS ARE OR ARE NOT "ACCEPTABLE"?

3. SITUATION AT MEETING COULD BE MADE DIFFICULT, ALSO BY SPECIFIC DESIRES PRESIDENTS OTHER THAN NYERERE, I.E. MACHEL'S AND KAUNDA'S GIVING PRIORITY TO ELIMINATION ELEMENTS SMITH ARMY MOST PROXIMATE AND DANGEROUS TO THEIR OWN BORDERS OR TO THEIR FAVORITES AMONG THE NATIONALISTS. EVEN NOW, WE HAVE CONTRADICTION IN PRINCIPLE BETWEEN NYERERE'S AGREEMENT TO PRESERVATION "ACCEPTABLE ELEMENTS" AND KAUNDA'S INSISTANCE THAT THERE IS NO ROOM OF ANY KIND FOR FORMER SMITH ARMY (PARA 3, LUSAKA 2471).

4. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, IT SEEMS TO ME VERY IMPORTANT THAT WE AND BRITISH BEFORE APPEARING TOGETHER AT MEETING HAVE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE AGREEMENT ON BOTH PRINCIPLES AND SPECIFICS. OTHERWISE, ON BASIS RECORD TO DATE, FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AND NATIONALISTS WILL HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO OPEN HOLE BY FOCUSING ON SUCH THINGS AS DIFFERENCE BETWEEN "BASED PREDOMINANTLY ON THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES" (PRESIDENT CARTER'S LETTER TO NYERERE, STATE 192562, AND OWEN APPROVED TALKING POINTS FOR NYERERE, SECRET

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DAR 3373) AND "BASED ON THE FORCES OF THE LIBERATION ARMIES" (CALLAGHAN'S MESSAGE TO NYERERE AND HIS LETTERS TO THE OTHER PRESIDENTS, DAR 3384).

5. WE CAN GET AWAY BY SAYING THAT WE CONSIDER BOTH PHRASES AS MEANING THE SAME THING ONLY REPEAT ONLY IF THE BRITISH ARE PREPARED TO SAY THAT ALSO. USING "LIBERATION FORCES" MAY GIVE US MORE ROOM FOR MANEUVER BUT IT COULD ALSO EXCITE SUSPICIONS, PARTICULARLY AMONG THOSE PRESIDENTS WHO HAVE NOT HAD BENEFIT OF CLOSE AND PERSONAL CONSULTATION AS NYERERE HAS HAD. AND, ANY HOPE WE MAY HAVE FOR SOME FORM OF CO-RESPONSIBILITY BY FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS (USUN 26600 COULD TURN ON PRESENCE OR ABSENCE SUCH SUSPICIONS.

6. ALL OF THIS IS PROBABLY MORE OBVIOUSLY PERTINENT OR IMPERTINENT IN WASHINGTON AND ELSEWHERE THAN IT IS HERE. I HAVE NOTHING TO OFFER ON HOW TO PIN DOWN THE BRITISH FURTHER OR EVEN ON WHETHER OR NOT SUCH IS NEEDED. I WONDER, HOWEVER, IF THERE MIGHT BE SOMETHING WE COULD DO TO ENCOURAGE THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS TO BE AS RECEPTIVE AS POSSIBLE. THIS APPLIES LESS TO NYERERE THAN TO THE OTHERS WHO HAVE HAD TO RELY ALMOST ENTIRELY ON CALLAGHAN'S LETTER AND WHO MAY BE SOMEWHAT CONFUSED

BY THE RELATIVELY HARD-LINE POSITION TAKEN BY NYERERE IN HIS  
AUGUST 20 PRESS CONFERENCE (DAR 3889).  
SPAIN UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

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